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 ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0066

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

USDAO LILONGWE MI

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

USIA WASHDC

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LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

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PARIS FOR PERLOW

DAR FOR AMB. DE VOS AND LTC MARLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINS, PREL, RW, UG

SUBJECT: RWANDA: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MAKES LAST PUSH  
 FOR CEASEFIRE

REFS: (A) KAMPALA 3182 (B) KAMPALA 3097

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
 DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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SUMMARY  
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2. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MET APRIL 21 WITH THE RPF'S DR. RUDASINGWA AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR, ALONG WITH THE AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS FROM TANZANIA, U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO FINALIZE HIS FIVE POINT PLAN BEFORE PRESENTING IT TO RPF AND GOR LEADERS FOR APPROVAL. THE PLAN CALLS FOR A SIMULTANEOUS CEASEFIRE; GIVES THE TWO SIDES 96 HOURS THEREAFTER TO CONTROL VIOLENCE; AUTHORIZES UMAMIR TO VERIFY THE CEASEFIRE, WHILE THE OAU AND REGIONAL COUNTRIES WOULD "CONSIDER HOW THEY MIGHT CONTRIBUTE;" ASSUMING THE CEASEFIRE HOLDS AND THE KILLINGS STOP, COMMITS BOTH SIDES TO IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS; AND CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT

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OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE PLANE CRASH AND THE KILLINGS. THE SAME GROUP WILL RECONVENE AT 9:00 A.M. (LOCAL) SATURDAY, APRIL 23, SO THAT MUSEVENI CAN PASS THE (HOPEFULLY) AGREED-UPON PLAN TO PRESIDENT MWINYI BY TELEPHONE BEFORE THE ARUSHA MEETING CONVENES. AS NEXT STEPS, WE RECOMMEND ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR MUSEVENI'S EFFORTS (INCLUDING LETTERS FROM A/S MOOSE AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER); AND PRESSURING THE FRENCH TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING ABOUT WHAT THEY KNOW ABOUT THE CRASH, AND TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH HUTU EXTREMISTS TO STOP THE CARNAGE. WE ALSO ASK THAT, IF THE ARUSHA PROCESS RESUMES, LTC MARLEY OR AMB RAWSON COME THROUGH KAMPALA TO SEE MUSEVENI. END SUMMARY.

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APRIL 21 MEETING  
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3. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MET THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 21 WITH RPF SECRETARY GENERAL DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA AND RWANDAN AMBASSADOR CLAVER KANYARUSHOKI. THE AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS FROM TANZANIA, U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE ALSO PRESENT.

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4. THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER PRESENTED THE FORMAL TEXT OF MUSEVENI'S FIVE POINT CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL (REFTEL A, PARA 8). THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER ALSO OUTLINED THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED EARLIER IN THE DAY BY THE RPF REPRESENTATIVE AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR. THE RPF HAD CRITICIZED THE

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PROPOSED DRAFT BECAUSE IT REFERRED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA, WHICH THE RPF DESCRIBED AS ILLEGAL. THE RPF DID NOT WANT TO TALK TO GOR OFFICIALS, ONLY TO THE MILITARY. THE FIVE POINTS ALSO DID NOT CONDEMN THE CURRENT LEADERS FOR CAUSING THE MASSACRES, NOR DID IT CONTAIN ENOUGH MECHANISMS TO VERIFY THAT THE KILLINGS WOULD STOP. UNAMIR HAD PROVEN INEFFECTIVE AND NEEDED TO BE AUGMENTED. THE RPF WANTED THE ROLE OF THE OAU ENHANCED AND SPELLED OUT.

5. THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER ALSO REVIEWED THE OBJECTIONS OF THE RWANDA AMBASSADOR AND THE CONCERNS OF THE U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE. KANYARUSHOKI EXPRESSED BASIC AGREEMENT WITH THE DOCUMENT, BUT SAID HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT TAKE MORE THAN 96 HOURS TO STOP THE VIOLENCE IN RWANDA. THE RWANDAN ENVOY ALSO OBJECTED STRONGLY TO THE GOR BEING TERMED ILLEGAL, AND SUGGESTED THAT IT WAS TOO SOON TO SIMPLY BLAME ALL THE VIOLENCE ON THE GOR. MASSACRES, HE CLAIMED, HAD BEEN REPORTED IN RPF-HELD TERRITORY. THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR ALSO SUGGESTED THAT A GREATER OAU ROLE

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WOULD BE HELPFUL IN CONJUNCTION WITH UNAMIR, BUT  
RESURFACED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE ACCEPTABILITY OF  
SOLDIERS FROM "ALL THE R

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EGIONAL" PARTNERS. OVERALL,  
HE THOUGHT THE GOR WOULD ACCEPT THE TEXT.

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6. MUSEVENI SAID HE WANTED TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BOTH SIDES AND SUGGESTED, WITH IMPROVING LANGUAGE FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS, COSMETIC MODIFICATIONS TO THE ORIGINAL FIVE POINT TEXT. TO ELIMINATE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE GOR IS LEGAL, HE SUGGESTED THAT THE LANGUAGE REFER TO "BOTH SIDES," INSTEAD OF THE GOR AND THE RPF. HE ALSO ADDED A SENTENCE, TO APPEASE THE RPF, THAT STATES "THE OAU AND REGIONAL COUNTRIES WOULD CONSIDER HOW THEY MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THE EFFORT TO VERIFY THE CEASEFIRE AND STOP FUTURE KILLINGS."

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FIVE POINT PLAN -- FINAL VERSION  
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7. FOLLOWING IS THE FINAL TEXT OF MUSEVENI'S FIVE POINT PLAN.

(1) BOTH SIDES WILL MAKE SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENTS COMMITTING EACH SIDE TO ENTER INTO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE THAT WOULD GO INTO FORCE 24 HOURS AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT. (AT .....HRS RWANDA TIME,.....TIME GMT) ;

(2) FROM THE START OF THE CEASEFIRE, BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE 96 HOURS TO CONTROL THE VIOLENCE IN THEIR RESPECTIVE AREAS OF CONTROL;

(3) UNAMIR WOULD BE ASKED TO VERIFY BOTH THE CEASEFIRE AND WHETHER THE KILLINGS HAD IN FACT STOPPED; OAU AND REGIONAL COUNTRIES WOULD CONSIDER HOW THEY MIGHT CONTRIBUTE;

(4) SUBJECT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PARA 2 ABOVE, BOTH SIDES WOULD BE COMMITTED TO MOVE TO IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION OF THE EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS;

(5) AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION WOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE KILLINGS AND MASSACRES BEFORE AND

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AFTER THE LATE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S DEATH, AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS OWN DEATH.

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8. MUSEVENI HAS ASKED THE RPF REP AND THE RWANDAN ENVOY TO SEND THE DOCUMENT TO THEIR LEADERS FOR  
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APPROVAL. HE HAS ASKED FOR FINAL APPROVAL BY SATURDAY MORNING APRIL 23. (WE ARE SLATED TO RECONVENE TO HEAR COMMENTS ON AT 9:00 A.M. SATURDAY.) MUSEVENI SAID HE WILL RELAY THE OUTCOME VIA TELEPHONE TO PRESIDENT MWINYI (TO WHOM HE HAS NOW SPOKEN), SO THAT THE AGREEMENT CAN BE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED AND FORMALIZED IN ARUSHA ON APRIL 23.

9. MUSEVENI SAID HE WANTS NO GLORY, JUST A CEASEFIRE AND SETTLEMENT. HE URGED BOTH THE RPF REP AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO SELL HIS PROPOSAL TO THEIR LEADERS.

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COMMENT  
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10. WHETHER MUSEVENI PULLS THIS OFF OR NOT, HE WILL HAVE GIVEN PRESIDENT MWINYI AND OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM A FIRM FOUNDATION ON WHICH TO BUILD. END COMMENT.

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NEXT STEPS  
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11. LOOKING DOWNSTREAM, WE SHOULD BE CONSIDERING:

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-- LETTERS FROM A/S MOOSE AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER  
EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR MUSEVENI'S EFFORTS;

-- A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IN FAVOR OF MUSEVENI'S FIVE  
POINTS, IF THEY ARE AGREED UPON IN ARUSHA. IF THEY  
ARE NOT, WE SHOULD STEP UP OUR DIPLOMACY IN SUPPORT  
OF THEM.

-- VOLUNTEERING SUPPORT FOR THE OFFICIAL ENQUIRY INTO  
HABYARINAMA'S DEATH. PERHAPS WE MIGHT EXPRESS OUR  
WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE A CIVIL AVIATION EXPERT TO  
LOOK INTO THE CAUSES OF THE AIR CRASH.

-- LEAN ON THE FRENCH TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING (OR TO  
COME CLEAN) IN WHAT THEY KNOW ABOUT THE BLACK BOX AND  
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THE CRASH OF HABYARIMANA'S PLANE.

-- ENCOURAGE THE FRENCH TO PRESSURE HUTU EXTREMISTS  
IN (OR ASSOCIATED WITH) THE MILITARY TO STOP THE  
CARNAGE. MUCH OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE INFAMOUS  
PRESIDENTIAL GUARD IS FRENCH TRAINED. BECAUSE OF THE  
LONGSTANDING MILITARY TIES BETWEEN FRANCE AND RWANDA,  
THE FRENCH MILITARY MUST HAVE SOME KNOWLEDGE OF (AND  
PERHAPS INFLUENCE WITH) THE CURRENT PLAYERS.

-- LOOK FOR A MECHANISM (WITHOUT COMMITTING NEW  
RESOURCES) TO HAVE REGIONAL FORCES FROM TANZANIA,  
UGANDA AND KENYA (IF ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES) TO  
JOIN UNAMIR.

-- ONCE THE ARUSHA PROCESS RESUMES, LTC MARLEY OR  
AMB. DAVID RAWSON SHOULD PLAN TO COME THROUGH  
KAMPALA. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO USE MUSEVENI WHEREVER  
POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO CONVEY  
OUR CONCERNS TO THE RPF.

12. MINIMIZE CONSID  
ERED.

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